

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

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2d.

WHY PACIFISTS OPPOSE MILITARY DISPLAYS

WHILE protesting against our own military displays it is worth remembering that the same thing goes on in other countries.

Indeed, in view of the example which one country sets other countries (which generally try to go one better), the following message from a special correspondent indicates a further reason why pacifists should oppose military displays.

A NEW PASTIME

The exhibition of aeronautics in Prague has a special attraction.

There is a department where the public are given the occasion to train themselves in air bombing and another one for plane shooting.

SEE PAGE 5, COLUMN 1.

Refused to Pay Income Tax

AND WILL IGNORE COURT ORDER

"As a pacifist, and after careful and deliberate consideration, I have decided to withhold 25 percent of my income tax, the fair estimate of the sum allocated to this country's expenditure on armaments.

"This sum will go to peace."

"I am, of course, well aware that such action may appear out of proportion to the sum concerned and take this line rather as a definite protest. . . .

"I am therefore taking this action on grounds of conviction of its rightness and not from any desire to withhold from the State that which will further the well-being of the people."

This is an extract from a letter sent by Miss Ellen Dighton, secretary of the Notting Hill group of the Peace Pledge Union, to the local Inspector of Taxes.

SUMMONED

As a result she appeared in Westminster police court on Tuesday morning for the non-payment of income tax amounting to 18s. 11d. The court issued an order for payment for this amount.

Miss Dighton told a PEACE NEWS reporter later that she would not comply with this order and would therefore have to go to court again.

War Can be Avoided!

IF DRASTIC ACTION IS TAKEN TO REMOVE ITS CAUSES

Is the tragedy of war inevitable?

Under this challenging heading, a remarkable letter from Mr. Angus Watson was published in the *Manchester Guardian* on Monday, in which he declared:

The time is long past for the adoption of merely coercive methods, and the insanity of the present world policy should be replaced by a gesture on the part of Great Britain which will make it clear to the world that we are dominated by no selfish motive and are prepared to make any sacrifice that will secure future justice to humanity as a whole.

The same principle that not threats but an approach in the spirit of understanding to the men who control policies is needed to prevent war, has prompted Mr. George Lansbury's proposal to visit Signor Mussolini some time this summer, following his personal contacts with the political heads of other States.

Tell Government to

END GRIEVANCES IN 3 MONTHS!

"WITH the successful business man," said Mr. Heard in a statement on the same subject to PEACE NEWS, "you can shame him but not threaten him. Calling him a cowardly blood-sucker only gives rise to fascism, because he has to show you that he is not a coward.

"Today we have to deal with the big business mind in foreign politics which says, 'I am a fine man, but only a realist and not a blackguard; and in my place you would have done (and you have done) the same.'

"That mind must be won over by our foregoing our snatched gains. That is to win the initiative back for democracy. We must unmake his case by reparation on our side.

"The other force that makes for war in Europe is fear. We must tell the other side not only that we are ready for an international new deal, and as we hold most of the goods we are going to unpack first and set up a new international order and ownership, but also say that we don't intend in any circumstances to destroy their

WORSE THAN DEATH

"THERE is something worse than the death of thousands of babies in war," said Runham Brown, in a remarkable speech seconding the last resolution of the Birmingham pacifist convention. "It is the spiritual death of the young boys who are conscripted into the army and taught to take their lives.

"I have seen boys being taught which are the most vital parts of a man's body to strike at with a bayonet.

"I have seen them turn green; then get dizzy and faint on the ground.

"I have seen it go on day after day until they got used to it."

women and children—that we know that such warfare is unthinkable for Europeans.

DEADLY SELF-DECEPTION

"That is both to shame and to argue the other side into sense. We have nothing like so hard a task as a lunacy doctor; for we are dealing with men who have a real grievance and fear, both of which we can remove, if we choose, in the next three months.

"The deadly thing is that we lie to ourselves saying that we are only protecting our homes when the danger to those homes rises from our threatening other people's homes if they dare press the claim that we have no right to take away other people's constitutions—as we have in Malta.

"Our arms are to hold other people's property, not merely to

save the lives of our women and children; and this dishonest confusion is deadly; for it is in our effort to hold wrongly other people's goods that we shall be dragged into war and so our homes will be destroyed."

WHO IS UTOPIAN?

The Economic Committee of the League of Nations has been discussing the present state of international economic relations, with, as its "ultimate purpose, an inquiry on lines parallel to the economic inquiry which is being undertaken by M. van Zeeland, the Belgium Prime Minister."

Mr. Chamberlain stated, in the House of Commons on Monday, that the results of that inquiry were still awaited by the Government before even the possibility of a world conference would be so much as considered.

Yet it is the pacifist whose policy is sneered at for being too remote! Gerald Heard speaks of three months. But he speaks also in terms of such drastic action as "foregoing our snatched gains."

That is the need. In any approaches to those who control or influence the policy of this country—the Government and your Members of Parliament—see that this need for some peace action is stressed. Urge that we give some positive demonstration of our will to make as great a sacrifice for peace as we are making for war.

REMOVE THE CAUSE

Last week the time limit was up for the five months which Field Marshal Lord Milne gave us to prepare for war.

Interviewed as to the need for that alarming warning now that the time had passed without a war, he used a curious metaphor to illustrate the need for military preparedness.

"If the kettle looks like boiling over," he said, "it is wise to have a saucer to catch the hot water."

Unpractical pacifist dreamers, of course, would do something silly like turning the gas off!

NEXT WEEK

Brig.-Gen. F. P. CROZIER

writes in

PEACE NEWS

A SERVICE AND GOOD VALUE

THANK you for your letter, I thought that our advertisement must be running out. It has been very successful in that it has resulted in over 150 requests for samples, sometimes with further results.

Will you insert the enclosed for the next four weeks? We want to make this . . . as widely known as possible.

This is typical of a great many letters we receive. Another advertiser, though unable to continue his announcement for the time being, wrote:

You will be glad to know that it was productive of a number of inquiries and has proved well worth while.

And a third, having achieved his object, said:

Quite an encouraging response has resulted, and they come every week; also most interesting inquiries.

A minister suggests that church services should be announced in PEACE NEWS.

Thus the advertisement columns of PEACE NEWS are not only a service: they represent good value. Owing also to the steady increase in the paper's circulation—already very extensive—it has been decided to increase the scale of charges as from August 1 next, though advertisements in a series beginning before that date will be charged at the old rate until the expiration of the contract.

Thanks for Helping the Basque Children

The secretary of the Basque House Committee of the Peace Pledge Union writes:—

Groups are doing splendid work with collecting boxes. Fulham wins the speed prize for taking a box out one day and returning it, plus the sum of £2 5s. 1d., the next. Bexhill has already sent up three contributions totalling well over five pounds, and another single-handed collector, by sending boxes round her office and among friends and fellow workers generally, has amassed almost as much by her own efforts.

To Oswestry, Leeds, Northfield, Chingford, Nottingham, Wembley and Whitehaven grateful and individual thanks for their prompt and welcome help. Letchworth has been holding a Peace Week with a pageant—among other festivities—which must have been great fun; and our "Basquettes" benefit to the tune of £55. Other groups—please note!

* * * * *

Schools, too, have been busy—though I have only space this week to mention one: a public school on the fringe of London which has sent us £14 5s. with apologies that it isn't more and the explanation that collecting from busy people, many of them in khaki, isn't a very easy or pleasant task. I take off my hat to this collector.

Cardiff Rejects O.T.C. Proposal

The proposal of Cardiff Education Committee to form an O.T.C. in the High School, passed, as reported in last week's PEACE NEWS only on the chairman's casting vote, was rejected by the City Council last week, the voting being 30 for, 19 against.

Lord Ponsonby discusses

THE DUAL PERSONALITY OF EARL BALDWIN

Reflections and Comments

AS I watched Earl Baldwin being installed in the House of Lords with the usual ceremony, in his earl's robes with the chain of the Order of the Garter, I could not help reflecting on the curious vicissitudes of political life.

He entered Parliament the same year as I did (1908). I was comparing the modest back bench member, more often to be found in the library than in the chamber, who very occasionally made a competent speech on finance, with the statesman who is laying down the Premiership in a blaze of glory equalled by few of his predecessors.

Posterity will be able to judge his accomplishments more accurately than we can. The result of some of the lines of his policy has yet to be seen.

As a man he is all Jekyll. His friendliness even to acquaintances is disarming. The cultivation of his mind and thoughts is undoubted.

I have heard speeches of his which have made me enthusiastic. Never have I heard him or read of him making cheap party scores even under temptations to which many politicians would have succumbed.

BUT political and public life, although he may have struggled against it, produced Hyde as Jekyll's companion.

The humble back-bencher who, at one time, I believe, was ready to give up a parliamentary career in which before the war he considered he was

wasting his time, once he had tasted the intoxicant of authority and leadership developed an astuteness, one might almost say craftiness, which was all the more baffling to his opponents as well as his supporters, coming as it did from the blunt Jekyll in whom they had become accustomed to give unmeasured confidence.

So it was that a speech of moving eloquence by Jekyll, universally applauded, was sometimes followed by a policy devised by Hyde. But it was sadder still where Jekyll got up and defended Hyde.

But I am not writing an obituary. He is not even an old man nor does he look it.

I am hoping in the aloof atmosphere of the Chamber when I shall have the privilege of hearing him, that the noble Earl will turn out to be Dr. Jekyll and that Mr. Hyde refused the peerage.

BUT dead though Hyde may be the consequences of his policy of frenzied rearmament and the steady militarization of large sections of our population, the attempted suppression of Socialism by the formation of a "National" Government and even the abdication crisis, so smoothly manœuvred at the moment, may yet become the subject of formidable debate in the future.

It will be interesting. Of the future of politics, be they national or international, no one would dare attempt to prophesy.

How easy it is for the common man to criticize those who have power, knowing that he himself will never be in that position! One thing is clear; that the enormously increased burden of work and responsibility is sufficient to break the strongest man.

Even a Gladstone could not be Prime Minister at eighty in these times.

Judgment and foresight must to some extent become distorted by the pressure of day-to-day business which

deprives our governors even of time for reflection.

LET me pass to quite another subject which has been occupying my attention a good deal recently.

It is war-atrocities and flagrant injustice and cruelty in other countries. Atrocities-mongering has never attracted me.

If you have war you must have atrocities. To show up atrocities as the inevitable outcome of war is an argument, although not a particularly good one, against it.

The normal and now recognized method of waging war is to my mind a sufficient atrocity. The danger of atrocity-mongering is the attempt sometimes based on insufficient evidence to inflame still further passionate hatred between the combatants.

An atrocity on one side is immediately answered by the recital of atrocities on the other side.

Sides must always be taken in any war, civil or international; compassion must always be felt for the sufferings of the side in favour.

It is irresistible to show up the cruelties inflicted. But friend and foe have got to live together eventually whatever the result. Combatants cannot be expected to restrain their animosity.

But I am not sure that it would not be better for spectators to make some attempt to.

IN the same way cruelty and persecution wherever it may occur quite naturally excites indignation specially among those who sympathize with the creed or political belief of the victims.

Moreover, world indignation may be the means of restraining the persecuting government. But again here the result, namely the stirring up of international hatreds, may produce even worse evils.

It is tempting to inveigh against acts and scandals. But it is wiser to concentrate every ounce of effort against the systems which make those acts and scandals possible.

I do not mean of course to attempt to crush that system by force and violence simply because that cannot be done. But there are other ways.

Moreover, the critic-attacker must be quite sure that he and his government have got a perfectly clean sheet. A difficult thing to be sure of in these days.

So if I do not keep a file devoted to Guernica, German reprisals, imprisonments, &c., Bolshevik executions, American gangster exploits, Japanese suppressions, Italian persecutions, French penal settlements, Indian events, and so on, perhaps I may be excused.

Arthur Ponsonby

CHRIST AND PEACE

Few addresses on "Christ and Peace" can have been arranged for any parish church where quite such a collection of experts has been got together as the Rev. Paul Gliddon has managed to get at St. James's, Walthamstow.

The speakers are Canon Stuart Morris (June 27); the Rev. Gilbert Shaw (July 4); Father Andrew (July 11); and Canon H. R. L. Sheppard (July 18), and the addresses will be given at 6.30 p.m.

SCHOOLS

BELONGING TO THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (QUAKERS) IN GREAT BRITAIN

(with numbers, age-ranges, and non-Friend Fees).

BOYS' SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

Ackworth School, nr. Pontefract	...	199: 9-18: £110
Bootham School, York	...	144: 12-19: £165
Leighton Park School, Reading	...	150: 12-19: £189

GIRLS' SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

Ackworth School, nr. Pontefract	...	172: 9-18: £110
The Mount School, York	...	118: 13-19: £153

CO-EDUCATIONAL SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS

Friends' School, Gt. Ayton, Yorks.	...	150: 9-17: £81
Friends' School, Saffron Walden, Essex	...	202: 10-18: £99
(Junior)	...	28: 7-10: £99

Sidcot School, Winscombe, Somerset	...	150: 10-18: £123
Friends' School, Wigton, Cumb.	...	104: 7-17: £82 1s.

CO-EDUCATIONAL "MODERN" BOARDING SCHOOL

Friends' School, Sibford, nr. Banbury	...	158: 10-17: £81
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Apply to SCHOOL, or to SECRETARY, Friends Education Council, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1

Action For Peace And Reconstruction

RELIEF WORK IN INDIA

"PEACE is essentially not something negative, not simply the absence of war. Among other positive things, peace requires that we should recognize good will wherever it is, and not only in our own nation, race, class, party, or religion," says Pierre Ceresole, of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, in a statement recently issued.

The best way to have good will recognized, he continues, is to get people of all types to join in common work for an aim which every intelligent and sincere person agrees to be of supreme importance. Such is the work started now in different directions and by different groups for the help of the Indian villagers in their present distressed condition.

COLLABORATION

Our I.V.S.P. has had the privilege of cooperating in the spirit indicated above for the construction of new villages in earthquake-devastated Bihar with Government and with the Bihar Central Relief Committee, which is practically a Congress organization.

There is no reason why—so long as we do purely positive, constructive work—the collaboration which has been successful on a small scale should not become possible also on a larger scale.

With the best will and even with all the forces at its disposal, it is impos-

sible for Government to carry out its plans if it is not more and more supported by a crowd of enthusiastic men and women. The most striking result of the propaganda made so far is the gathering together of a group of keen coworkers more remarkable even by their quality than by their numbers.

I believe this method is full of promise for achieving peace not only in India but in the world, not mainly by talking but by helping the third man, the poor one, through our common effort.

CREATE PEACE MENTALITY IN SPANISH SCHOOLS

From Our Special Correspondent CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

THE manager of a refugee children's colony in this province has agreed to read Bertha von Suttner's book—*Lay Down Your Arms!* to his charges if I will present him with my copy in Spanish.

An inspector tells me that this book was often read in the Madrid schools before the war; that no real Spaniard has any use for war; that militarist organizations for youth are likely to have but an ephemeral existence; and that war illustrations will soon be expunged from school-books. All of which is very encouraging.

But meantime the influence of these polemics is mischievous, and may be lasting.

Now is the moment to counter-act it, and there can be few better methods than wiling away the tedium of the child's often monotonous leisure with a book of adventure or an interesting story.

But *Lay Down Your Arms!* was not written for children, and it is a little beyond the younger ones. Do any of your readers know of any other suitable pacifist literature which has been translated into Spanish? And can any reader tell me where one may find Helps' essays on War and Government referred to by John Ruskin in *The Crown of Wild Olive*? They should be worth reading.

In support of Norma Jacob's appeal in PEACE NEWS for May 22 appears an announcement in *Ahora* (Madrid) that the Spanish Aid Committee in Prague has decided to adopt a colony of 200 Basque children.

PARSONS DISCUSS PEACE

Canon Morris and the Rev. Henri Roser will be among the speakers at the Fourth International Congress of Antimilitarist Ministers and Clergymen to be held in the Central Hall, Tollcross, Edinburgh, from June 29 to July 1.

"What's this? Another paper pushed through the door? Ah! but this is different," says—with considerable justification—a leaflet which the Ewell group of the Peace Pledge Union has been distributing to all householders in Ewell. It points out what really desiring peace means.

RESPONSIBILITY OF CHRISTIANS

DANISH PACIFIST CAMP

AN international pacifist camp is to be held at the Radikal Ungdoms Lejr at Tryllevælde Strand, in Denmark from July 11 to July 22.

It is possible either to sleep out in tents or in the school, and members of both sexes are invited to attend.

The cost will be 3.50 kronor per day or 15 kronor for the whole period. More information may be obtained from Svend Haugaard, 13 Vanlose, Denmark.

Not The Tower of Babel

Several thousand esperantists are likely to be present at the Thirtieth Universal Esperanto Congress, which will be held in London from July 26 to August 5.

There is time even now for anyone to become fluent enough to take part in the conference for most people can learn the language in six to nine months, and some become fluent after three months study.

The British Esperanto Association, 142 High Holborn, W.C.1, will be pleased to supply information about the general Esperanto movement, whilst W. J. Brigden, 232 Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17, will be pleased to give information as to the progress of the Pacifist Esperanto League.

THE impression that the average Christian makes upon the Moslem is given in a letter from an Arab Christian, resident in Bethlehem, to a PEACE NEWS reader.

"We are specially grateful for PEACE NEWS," he writes, "which we read not only with interest but with the greatest hope that it may become instrumental in establishing peace, at least in countries nominally Christian."

"Whether in the West or in the East Christians are Christians in name only and this fact is well known to the Moslems, who have made of us a laughing stock."

GREAT DIFFICULTIES

"You in the West don't feel the effect of this evil because you have no Moslems, but we being a Christian minority among a Moslem majority feel it very bitterly and can see no way of vindicating theological Christianity."

We are glad, however, to see that at least some Christians have opened their eyes to the fact and are now trying to throw off the yoke of slavery imposed on them by their religious leaders."

STUDENTS WORK FOR PEACE

The Viennese branch of the International Students' League for Peace reports great activity. The reorganization of their library has put a number of books at the disposal of their members and they are hoping to arrange a big public meeting shortly.

Make Your Voice For Peace Heard

IN view of the suggestion made in PEACE NEWS that you should tell your M.P. that you want a world conference to deal with economic causes of war, it is interesting to note that the National Council for Prevention of War in America has issued a leaflet saying "if you want peace, tell your Congressman today."

In this leaflet a representative is reported to have said, "The voice of the people in peace matters is feeble or unheard, and until you form yourselves into a force which demands peace your representatives will be misled by your apathy into believing that you are indifferent to the tragedies of war and its aftermath."

COURAGE OF THE CZECHS

Although she is looking danger in the face, and is aware of its magnitude, Czechoslovakia remains mistress of herself and refuses to yield to the wild counsels of fear, says Henri Roser who recently made a speaking tour of Czechoslovakia.

So it will not seem surprising, he continues, when I say that in this very exposed country, where the least suspicious can clearly see the possibility of an invasion within a period calculable in months, I found among friends a complete comprehension of the message of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Procrastination is the Thief of Time

THIS PROVERB REMINDS US OF THINGS LEFT UN-DONE THAT OUGHT TO BE DONE

HAVE YOU STARTED TO SAVE?

If not write immediately for a prospectus of the St. Pancras Building Society which gives particulars of how your savings can earn Four Percent per annum Free of Income Tax

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
3 WIGMORE PLACE, W.1

Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

TO renounce war theoretically is one thing, to renounce it in fact is quite another. If we desire to renounce it in fact we soon begin to discover that war is a protected industry surrounded with the heavy barbed-wire entanglements of the law: we discover that opposition to war therefore necessitates a great deal of knowledge about what you may do and what you may not.

You may regard pacifism as the gospel of Christ, but you are not allowed by law to preach that gospel to members of His Majesty's Forces. Living in the freest and most enlightened democracy in Europe you may assume you can say what you like and do what you like so long as you intend injury to no man. Well, you can't. You may know the saying "Free as air," but if you do not know that the air of England belongs to someone, as sea and land do not, you are as ignorant as I was until this week.

The air was free until aeroplanes began to appear in it. Now it belongs to the Air Ministry; if you wish to put a banner in the sky on June 26 next with the strange device "April 26, GUERNICA—June 26, HENDON" the aerial advertising company will express its regret that it cannot place these two historical dates in the sky at the same time. Obviously enough, the most obliging business men have their livings to get, and the Air Ministry is in control of the air. The truth that "Bile Beans nightly keep you fit" is the sort of truth we may be sure the Air Ministry prefers to history-book dates.

Ah well! Truth will out. And if these dates have an associative inference in the mind of authority today, we may be sure they will be connected in the mind of the general public sooner or later. Our only hope was that it might be sooner; but whoever is Prince of the Power of the Air says No!

And the position is even stranger than that. You can put the message "Now is the time to renounce war" in the sky, but you must not say "Now is the time to stop bombing." From which you might infer that the Air Ministry is of opinion that now is the time to start bombing. Is that so?

But if you have a religious objection to making bombs and poison-gas, you need not make them. I mean you need not actually starve if you refuse. And it is something to have discovered that a man can live in England without being under the obligation to make munitions. Hearty thanks to the correspondent who has put me wise on this point; for as I have said here before, the real fight against war is going to be the fight against munition-making. When all the munitions "required" are made there will be no other industry but war for the "surplus" industrial workers, and the necessity for solving the unemployment problem is bad enough in these piping days of industrial rearmament boom. No politician living could stand the slump that is bound to come—unless there is another war. Meantime, is it symbolic that "living" is becoming more expensive every day?

The Notice Board

Group formed at Winchester, second in a fortnight in that area—the other being Eastleigh. Regional rally organized at Winchester Sunday, July 11; Canon S. D. Morris and Nigel Spottiswoode to attend.

Group started at Thornton, Blackpool, leader being Rex Halsall, 200 Fleetwood Road, Thornton.

Pacifists in London training colleges and colleges of London University please communicate with Miss M. G. Clark or R. S. Malloni giving details of pacifist strength in their college with view to forming **University Pacifist Association**.

Garden party at "Windyridge," Chelsea Road, Sheffield, July 3. Helpers and gifts wanted. Names of those willing to assist to Beatrice Reaney, 7 Margaret Street, Sheffield, 1, on or before June 19.

Headquarters want regular open-air meetings throughout summer wherever possible. Send offers and comments to Nigel Spottiswoode at 96 Regent Street, W.1.

LATE NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT

In moving about the country I find quite a lot of people are still unaware that the No More War Movement is no longer in existence.

Perhaps, therefore, I may be permitted to state that several months ago the N.M.W.M., realizing its unity of purpose with the P.P.U., decided to throw in its lot with that body.

I should also like to add how delighted I have been to discover that members of the old N.M.W.M. are working happily and enthusiastically inside the P.P.U.

Wilfred Wellock.

The Manchester Ideal Homes Exhibition lasts another week, and among the exhibits on the P.P.U. stand is the original of A. E. Exley's cartoon "The Peace that passeth all Understanding," reproduced in PEACE NEWS for May 29.

Some of the younger members of the Sydenham group, having met together as a study circle, extended their "circle," so to speak, by holding a small poster and pamphlet parade last Saturday.

Fifty young members of the P.P.U. outside Olympia last week braved the scorn of those hundreds pouring into the Royal (Military) Tournament and went among them distributing leaflets and carrying posters.

The first unexpected thing to happen was the arrival of an authoritative but quite friendly policeman who forbade a demonstration within a specified area around Olympia itself. So the party went into Hammersmith Broadway and moved up and down the adjacent roads, continuing their distribution.

The second unexpected event was a thunderstorm which, if it washed out the demonstration, also washed out the "tournament." But many hundreds of pamphlets were distributed.

At the first public meeting organized by Alton and held in Foresters' Hall, Canon Stuart Morris said it would probably surprise them how many meetings the P.P.U. held up and down the country. It was a social phenomenon which was new and was perhaps their only hope for the future; and though they were less than a year old 150,000 people had renounced war.

The Uxbridge Region, comprising groups from Ruislip, Ruislip Manor, West Drayton, Hillingdon and Uxbridge and Hayes, carried out an open-

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

NEW groups are being formed at a greater rate than ever and there is an encouraging increase in activity up and down the country.

The challenge we are throwing down to the Government is that every individual has the right to refuse war work on conscientious grounds as a **pacifist**. Men are being told that they must make bombers instead of motor cars—poison gases instead of anaesthetics—gas masks instead of gloves; and if they refuse they are liable to dismissal and subsequent loss of unemployment pay. We challenge the right of any government to force a man or woman to do work of this nature against his or her conscience. Economic necessity has forced a great number already. The time has come to recall those already conscripted and to cry halt!

The groups are in a strong position to make known this challenge and should voice it at every public meeting, in the local Press, church assemblies, cooperative societies and wherever "two or three are gathered together." Make no mistake about it—**rearmament means war**, and we as pacifists refuse to submit and are prepared to do what the churches should be doing—demand the right of conscientious objection. Don't wait till your group next meets, call a special meeting about it. Decide now to act and act quickly!

Since the Eltham group was formed a short time ago they have been very busy and have now organized three separate teams in that area, which are meeting at regular intervals. I hope everybody in the area will get in touch with Mr. Eric W. Durkin, Coverack, 37 North Park, Eltham, S.E.9.

The Swinton (Lancs.) group are now making progress and much encouragement is being received from those who cannot give spare time for much active work. They are concentrating on outdoor propaganda work and are distributing leaflets over a wide area, following up with a different leaflet each week. They find it very strenuous work but feel that it is well worth while. At the same time they are planning an extensive campaign toward the end of the summer for outdoor meetings. Although this takes up a good deal of their energy, they still have some over for a stall in the market and winning debates on "collective security"! Such energy should be rewarded, and all pacifists in the district should get in touch with Mr. Arthur Ford, 32 Shirley Avenue, Pendlebury.

Raynes Park have submitted a long report of their activities and a calendar which covers meetings from May 31 until September 22.

The big work that they are tackling is the distribution to about 1,000 houses of a combination of leaflets designed to interest and attract all those discussing the question of pacifism. The answer to this will give them a very clear idea as to what support they can expect and where it is to be found. I understand that from the 500 houses covered a very encouraging result has been obtained already. Everyone living in the district who is not already a member of this group should get in touch with Mr. Frank Regan, Pepys Court, Worpole Road, S.W.20.

air rally at Harefield recently.

Cyclists carrying posters carried out parades from various points in the district, and in the evening an open-air meeting was held, when members of the various groups spoke.

UNDER THE OAK TREE

By DOROTHY PLOWMAN

(On behalf of the Basque Fund)

ON Tuesday last week Basque House, Langham, near Colchester, came into being.

It is difficult to give more than very meagre news of it at present, for everybody there is so busy that it would be adding the last straw to ask them to write us long letters this first day or two. But the scanty accounts we have received so far are most encouraging.

The Warden, as we have decided to call Miss Silvia Dobson, writing on Tuesday night, said: "The 'grand entrance' was most effective and included the Press and a crowd of interested watchers beyond the gates. . . . The children are charming, many big boys and girls, a few babes, and two very nice Basques (teachers), one a musician. Señora Alonso tells me that they think they have arrived at Buckingham Palace."

At the same time she asks us to broadcast an appeal for rugs and blankets. These southern children are far more sensitive to the variable English weather than we who are used to it, and will certainly all want more bed-coverings before it gets colder.

Another observer speaks of them as a "healthy, lively lot," and told us that morning after their arrival they were all out in the garden dancing and singing.

This week has been chiefly remarkable (to me) for the number—and size—of the parcels that have turned up at headquarters.

We had not expected gifts in kind for the Basque children to be sent to Regent Street, and the problem of dealing with them has rather taxed our resources. At first we did not intend to unpack them, but it was discovered that people had been sending letters, and sometimes money, in their parcels. So after that all had to be unpacked, and the most popular job in the office this week has been prising open crates and cutting the string of knobby packages. A breath of the old competitive spirit passed over some of us for the temporary possession of such treasures as rakish-looking woolly rabbits and benign Teddy bears. But in the end all were safely re-packed.

As I say, this was a big work and took up lots of precious time, so I do beg those kind friends, whose thoughts for the orphaned and fatherless in our midst find expression in this beautifully practical way, to send any future gifts (and queries concerning them) straight to Langham. Address:

Miss Silvia Dobson,
Basque Children's Home,
The Adelphi Centre,
Langham, nr. Colchester.

I know carriage is rather a problem, so I tried—but vainly—to get a special rate from the L.N.E.R. for our Basque House goods.

The best suggestion I can therefore make is that people wanting to send parcels should club together and pack the things in a sack. Then, if you label it "old clothes rate" it will go at about one quarter the usual cost.

(The rate is actually 2s. 3d. a cwt. for 50 miles. An average sack—full—weighs roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ a cwt. and Langham is just over the 50 mile limit.) Mathematicians, forward please!

(See also page 2, col. 1)

'Playing at War Leads to War'

GUERNICA & HENDON

Why We Object

JOIN IN P.P.U. PROTEST

A KIND of insult" is how Max Plowman describes the Hendon Air Pageant (to be held next Saturday) in view of the Guernica atrocity.

While pointing out that "the first thing is to try to stop it"—which could be done by deputations and letters to M.P.s and letters to the Press—Nigel Spottiswoode states that if this should fail we must "then make the people who attend Hendon understand what it is all about." He is accordingly organizing the Peace Pledge Union's great demonstration against the pageant.

At Friday's dress rehearsal children who attend will be given special leaflets as they leave Colindale station. These show in sharp pictorial contrast planes used for peace and for war.

Adults making the trip on Saturday will be confronted with a pamphlet indicating the very real connexion between Guernica and Hendon.

One thousand volunteers will be needed. So please apply to Nigel Spottiswoode at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

Similarly, Surrey and North Sussex Peace councils have pointed out the connexion between Guernica and Aldershot—where a tattoo is being held today—by distributing 50,000 striking leaflets that declare:

Playing at war leads to war. Following the suggestion of Mrs. Stocks, secretary of the Surrey and North Sussex Federation of Peace Councils, to its members, the local papers have been "bombarded with Alder-shot and shell" on the subject.

PACIFIST OBJECTIONS

"Like unto whited sepulchres" is the apt denunciation of tattoos by the Vicar of Ewell in his June parish magazine. "Whited sepulchres," he writes, "because they present war under the aspect of a glorious adventure, instead of showing it as it is, a filthy, bestial shambles."

Other reasons why these displays are condemned by pacifists are advanced by Mr. K. M. Dawson, of the Press Committee of Leeds Anti-Tattoo Committee, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, in which he declares that participation in them is a retrograde step in the light of memory and psychology.

In a practical application of the pacifist objection to air bombing the Friends' Peace Committee states that while reports of it come from Spain, "we read also of the bombing of villages and tribespeople on the North-West Frontier of India. Until Britain is willing to abandon these methods in Asia, our protests against air bombing in Spain lose much of their force."

"It must also surely be clear that the only complete cure for the type of barbarity at present being practised in Spain is the renunciation of the whole war system."

"HUMANISING" WAR



The (Unilateral) War Danger!

From Our Own Correspondent

DURING the last few weeks Oxford University has been feverishly seeking a definition for "a unilateral war"!

One suggestion is that what Sir Samuel Hoare meant when he told the Oxford Union that "we must not, at all costs, allow ourselves to be led into a unilateral war" was a war against a nation of non-resisters!

Other remarks culled from the debate on "rearmament" were:

"At the beginning of the century our relations with Germany improved noticeably as our navy increased. Those relations were never more friendly than at the outbreak of the War." (Mr. Winston Churchill, quoted by Sir Samuel Hoare.)

"We are only prepared to fight an aggressor if it is to defend our vital interests. . . There is nothing in the policy which I have outlined which contravenes either the spirit or the letter of the Covenant of the League." (Sir Samuel Hoare.)

FRIENDSHIP FOR GERMANS

It is hoped that a peace camp will be held at Thorne this summer by "The Knights of the Order of the Cross," who are also arranging for three young Germans from Berlin to spend a month's holiday there.

The aim of this society is to train boys in the ideals of peace and Christian citizenship and they would be glad to hear from young men actively interested in peace work among boys.

Anyone desirous of forming a branch should get in touch with Arthur H. Bird, c/o 92 Lime Tree Grove, Thorne, near Doncaster.

CONDITIONS IN AFRICA

Resolutions passed by the Executive Committee of the Women's International League last week emphasize the importance of the British Government's keeping "such powers of control of native policy" in Southern Rhodesia as still remain, and draw

VENTURING FOR PEACE

F.o.R. Breaks New Ground

TWO items of peace activity reported by the Fellowship of Reconciliation are of more than usual interest.

The Cardiff branch has just completed a speaking tour in the Forest of Dean. It was a great adventure, as their experience in public speaking was not very great.

The proposed scheme had been to hike from Cinderford to Ross speaking as often as possible, and visiting their scattered friends of the district.

This had meant much correspondence for the secretary and the assistant secretary in London. In the end it was decided to concentrate on Ross, and to spend the night with some friends in their guest house.

PACIFISM AND THE YOUNG

Another group of the F.o.R. held an interesting meeting recently in Chiswick on the relationship between pacifism and the young.

It was pointed out by Mr. A. Hobart, speaking from the point of view of day school teaching, that there was no plan for making children into pacifists, especially as pacifism as comprehended by an adult could not be presented in a manner that could be understood by a child.

Mr. R. Taylor said that the way in which children would later face adulthood lay largely in their attitude toward peace and war. Unless they received a clear lead from their teachers, they would find themselves perplexed and bewildered.

Miss Berryman said that the expression of the Guide law was in the promise to be a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide, and if a Guide realized that the Guides in 31 other countries were her sisters, then a solid basis for peace had been accomplished.

attention to the "horror" of migrant labour conditions in Nyasaland and the need for South Africa's ratification of the International Labour Office Convention on Migrant Labour.

ANGLICAN PACIFISTS' NEW MOVE

WE, communicant members of the Church of England, believe that our membership involves a complete repudiation of modern war. And we pledge ourselves to take no part in war, but to work positively for the construction of Christian peace in the world.

This is the basis of membership of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, officially formed at a one-day conference of Anglican pacifists held in King's Weigh House Hall last Friday.

The honorary secretary is the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, Holy Cross Vicarage, 47 Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.

PROPAGANDA POWER OF ART

Try Your Hand

LORD PONSONBY is to be congratulated on organizing an essay competition. It is also good to see him proclaim the value of art as propaganda in a recent article," writes a Birmingham reader.

Combining the two ideas, there is to be a new competition for those PEACE NEWS readers whose talents enable them to express their pacifism pictorially rather than in words. It will be divided into two classes:—

- (a) Cartoons.
- (b) Posters.

Arthur Wragg will judge the results and for the best entry in each class a prize of 30s. will be given. But please note very carefully all the following conditions (it is incredible how many disqualified themselves in the last competition simply by disregarding plainly stated conditions):—

1. Cartoons to be of a size suitable for reproduction in PEACE NEWS (i.e. so that when reduced any detail would still be distinguishable).
2. Posters may contain lettering, illustrations, or both; but
 - (a) Lettering must be limited to a maximum of four words in addition to "Peace Pledge Union"; or, if "Peace Pledge Union" is not used, a maximum of six words.
 - (b) Illustrations must not be in more than three colours.
3. All entries to be sent to 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, marked "PEACE NEWS Art Competition."
4. To arrive not later than September 30.
5. Accompanied in every case by the form below filled in with the competitor's name and address.

PEACE NEWS ART COMPETITION

Name.....
Address.....

Peace News

Editorial Office:
59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11
Tel: Enterprise 1888

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 8½d. post free
Yearly: 10s. 2d. " "

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union
Taking the Constructive Pacifist Position, but providing news,
information and an open forum
Serving all who are working for Peace

June 19, 1937

HENSON AND HITLER

ONE thing, and one thing only, is needful to convert the man in the street to pacifism today. It is the gift that Burns sighed for:

*Oh wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as others see us!*

Surrounded as man stands today by a world in arms, he is naturally filled with apprehension of what will happen to him if the people bearing these arms press the trigger. He is conscious that he has only one life to live and his native sense of self-preservation constrains him to sell that life as dearly as possible. As an individual he feels himself to be the man of all men in danger of his life, and the deadliness of modern arms makes him regard the possession of arms by others as an absolute menace to himself. Thus, psychologically, he stands as the sole guardian of the race against all the powers of human destruction; and mankind he must save by providing himself with the means of self-defence.

Directly such an one truly conceives the idea that ninety-nine percent of the people of Europe regard him precisely as he regards them, the gigantic barrier of fear will begin to topple over. Directly he has the imagination to see himself as others see him, or to see them as they see themselves (which is the same thing) he will realize that mutuality is the only basis of social security, and that without mutuality the quest for security is vain. But there must come this moment of belief in the other fellow's life-intention; for without it, fear remains in the saddle and rides its victims to destruction by the road of "safety-first."

Safety lies neither in my possession nor in yours. It lies for ever *between* us. Hence, if either of us seeks it for himself both of us must miss it. Could we but see that each of us is desirous of the same thing, and could we but restrain the childish desire to snatch it for ourselves alone, then we should experience the security that comes of mutual trust and lose the insecurity that is eternally attached to fear.

The craziness of fear was illustrated only the other day with almost comic appositeness. While the Bishop of Durham in England was contending that the maintenance of peace was bound up with British rearmament, on the very same day Herr Hitler in Germany was pointing the same moral from German rearmament. When irony presents us with the spectacle of an English Churchman and a Fascist Dictator coming to the same mind on the same day about the saving virtue of armaments, it is time for the plain man to do a little thinking for himself. It remains for the man in the street to say what he thinks of the Henson-Hitler belief that the safety of each country lies in the possession by each of enough weapons to knock the other's head off.

The Makings of the War Mind—Its Cause and The Cure

By LAURENCE HOUSMAN

WHEN Alexander Pope was on his death-bed, he said to a friend: "Here am I, dying of a dozen good diseases that have not yet been able to finish me off." That seems to be very much the position of the modern world. War is threatening it with destruction, and of the causes of war I have in my preceding articles indicated five of the "good diseases" which are contributing to its unhappy state, while it still manages to live on.

One cannot suggest that for so many diseases there is one simple cure. Each disease needs some variation of treatment, but there is, I think, one fundamental cure which is required to embrace the lot. Church and State, and people also, are trying to run the affairs of this world on a double system, and on that mix-up it is impossible to run them well. Religion has one set of ethics—mutual aid, cooperation, good-will, forgiveness—all embraced under the terms of "doing to all men as we would they should do unto us." Power-politics are based on rivalry, competition, jealousy, strife, the domination of the weak by the strong, and aggression disguised under the deceptive terms of "security" and "defence."

In religion there is constant emphasis on the duty of self-sacrifice for the good of others, and even where self-sacrifice is not involved, on equal thought and consideration for the good of all. In power-politics, there is no such emphasis; there is hardly a suggestion of it. Yet in spite of the absence of so prominent a feature of religious principle, the directors of power-politics like to pretend that their motives are good and high, and our rulers deceive their nationals with soft words, persuading them to the same effect. Of that piece of sham, self-righteousness is the consequent disease.

To this deceptive elimination of the main religious principle, and the deception which the State practices, institutional religion has made itself an abettor; it is the universal practice of the national Churches to pretend that power-politics and the Christian ethic are compatible. If my analysis of their principles is true, it is obvious that they are not; and that when the Church, through its leaders, pretends that they are, they are guilty, if not of deception and hypocrisy—of lack of thought and imagination—two of the other diseases which I have listed.

And this underlying cause of the war-mind does not rest upon war-conditions. It starts with the social system. So surely as that system enables its members to separate concern for the welfare and life-conditions of others, tolerating inequalities which mean impoverishment of mind and body, and to perpetuate those inequalities by making competition, and supply and demand, the controllers of life-values, so surely has that system got in it the germs of war. And those who say that the social system (whether it be "capitalism" or any other "ism" that you like to name) if it relies for its working on those conditions, is inevitably productive of war—since it fosters the war-mind, and disregard for the interests of others—are right in their contention.

And there again the Church has been far too ready to give its countenance, and even its blessing, to a social system in which social wrong is deeply embedded, and as a consequence, is not able to face up to the war problem with courage and a clean conscience.

Which being so, if the Peace Movement and the cure that it offers to our present ills is to be whole-hearted and active, it must take full cognizance of that origin of the war-mind which begins at home, and is the product of double-mindedness—a mind which, while giving lip-service to the ethics of Christianity, gives a good deal more than lip-service to the ethics of a State aiming at world-power.

If in the State there is conflict of interest between class and class, and life-damaging inequality of condition, and if the social conscience accepts that conflict of interest without whole-hearted attempts to remedy it, then inevitably from that acceptance will spring also acceptance of war.

Now, though the remedy for this complication of diseases is simple, that does not mean that it is easy. Simplicity is perhaps the hardest thing for the complicated and divided mind to achieve. All these symptoms of the war-mind disease are the outcome of a duplicity which has become a second nature through habit and tradition—of a belief in, or at any rate, acceptance of, two incompatible systems, the remedy for which is to get rid of double-mindedness, and substitute for it a single mind, ready, at whatever the cost, to accept the one system or the other. As regards the achievement of world peace, it is only the whole-hearted and single-minded acceptance of the Christian ethic which will make this possible. The trouble in which we see our Bishops floundering today is that they wish to regard as equally acceptable to God the power-politics of the system which has raised them to a position of high influence and authority, and the teaching of the Founder of the religion for which they nominally stand; and because they have persuaded themselves that power-politics and the social system on which it is based, are pleasing to God, they are trying, with all the dignity that they can muster, to keep a foot in both systems, and run the race which this division of allegiance sets before them, without seeing that the moment they start running, their dignity and spiritual integrity fall to pieces.

Some years ago I saw a film of Charlie Chaplin, in which, for a climax, he found himself faced by two dangers—the danger of legal arrest in his own country, and the danger of warfare in another; and to escape those two dangers, we saw him hopping first from one country into another, and then back again, and for the final curtain, running along the road which marked the frontier line, with one foot on his native road, and the other in the ditch prepared thus to escape the conflicting dangers which threatened him; and a very ridiculous figure he cut in that race for security. It was one of the most laughable incidents on the films that I have ever seen. From a moral and spiritual point of view, it reminds me forcibly, and unfortunately without laughter, of the attitude of the Bishops of the Church of England today, who, in their attachment to State-establishment, hobble along with one foot on the way indicated by Christ, and the other in the ditch to which the ways of Caesar have committed the world. The Archbishop of Canterbury has recently issued a national call for a return to religion. That call is useless, unless he himself is prepared to take his foot out of the ditch, and run the course of Christianity, without subterfuge or compromise.

NEWSNOTES

"Defence" & Reprisals :: War's Legacy
for Spain :: Children—and
Children :: Socialism
or Barbarism

by OEDIPUS

AGREEMENT has been reached between the fascist parties to the non-intervention scheme in Spain whose demand was that they should be permitted to take any action they deemed justified by an attack on their patrol vessels and the democratic parties who declared that this must not take such a form as the shelling of Almeria.

The provision therein for consultation, and thus a chance for tempers to cool, is a point on which Mr. Eden is to be congratulated insofar as his efforts have contributed toward the easing of a difficult situation. Unfortunately, however, it is as unrealistic as most military policies.

It is not a question of not trusting anybody's word. It is a question of the fact of the nature of the war method.

In the first place "measures of self-defence" are expressly provided for in the new agreement. And though these are to be "taken on the spot," there is no recognition of the fact that "the only defence is in offence," besides which, as the Berlin correspondent of *The Times* has pointed out, "it has always been Herr Hitler's contention that nobody can decide how a country's honour shall be defended but that country itself"—a view that is merely part of the war convention.

ANOTHER fact about the nature of the war method is that war breeds war. Which means that an act does not even need to be provocative but only to be regarded as provocative to call forth acts of a worse kind in return.

Thus, whereas the half-hearted believers in violence on the Spanish side would hesitate to retaliate, the fascist believers in war, as it were in spite of themselves, will see no alternative if they are attacked but to reply "with interest." The way in which the war gets fiercer—Guernica and the breaking of the "iron ring" round Bilbao at the weekend, described as the heaviest artillery attack of the war, are examples—shows where the war method leads.

But more tragic even than these is the apparent strengthening rather than weakening of Spain's faith in the war machine. Discussing the question of the Spain of the future (the *Manchester Guardian* reports) Senor Jose Giral, the Spanish Foreign Minister, said:

The Republic, which has peace inscribed in its Constitution, will emerge from its painful trial a military Power in which the armies of land, sea, and air will receive all they need.

THIS is another reason for taking as many Spanish children as possible from the war scene.

Yet there are those who are criticizing the Peace Pledge Union and others for not concentrating on English children and leaving Spain to look after her own (adding insult to the injury inflicted by those who misrepresent pacifists as having no sympathy with the victims of war). To these one could not answer better than did Dame Rachel Crowdy in a letter to *The Times* last week in which she said:

The Spanish Government has looked after its own children and is still doing so. . . . But the time has come when no more can be absorbed into safe areas.

How many of the critics have themselves contributed voluntarily to the care and welfare of English children? Should they decide among

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

A Weekly Commentary

THE MAN IN THE MACHINE

By J. Middleton Murry

WHAT, I find myself asking myself continually, is happening to the spirit of Man today? What, for example, actually takes place in the psyche of the young recruit to the R.A.F. today? We know why he joins. There are no openings for the average boy from the state-aided secondary school. If he tries sitting at a desk in an office, at a wage that cannot possibly keep him, he quickly wearies of it. The chances are heavy that his mind has been set on the Air Force all along. He is passionately interested in aeroplanes—he has been expert in recognising the various kinds ever since he was seven or eight, in precisely the same way as small boys of my generation were expert in the colour and design of railway locomotives. He longs to handle a plane. To join the R.A.F. is the most natural thing in the world. It is the only way of gratifying the most typical ambition of the English boy of 1937.

Then comes the instruction. It is technical and he revels in it. He has a very obvious contempt for any other kind of soldier. A little while ago I received a letter from a young R.A.F. mechanic of my acquaintance who was sent to establish wireless communication between the threatened spots in the Fen area, when flooding was imminent. On the job he met with some Royal Engineers and some of the Royal Corps of Signals. He had no use for them at all; the men were not very intelligent. But their equipment! It was pre-Flood!

That is the spirit in which he takes out a bombing-plane, under instruction, and lets drop a cargo of dummy bombs on the target. It's a technical problem and his tools are superb. They will be still more superb next month, for the designers have something quite extra-special up their sleeve. Meanwhile he wants full-marks for the handling of the pretty tool he has got.

"But, my friend, that target is women and children—humanity. You are learning most efficiently to wipe them out like flies."

Well, of course, that doesn't bear thinking about—not in that way. And he doesn't intend to think about it. What earthly good would it do him if he did? He would have to give up his job, and be thrown on the labour-market, with a slender chance of boring himself to death as a solicitor's understrapper, kicking his heels behind the counter of the ante-room, at £1 a week. Would you do it?

That, it seems to me, is the real problem of pacifism. And I think it contains two problems—one psychological, one social. One is the indubitable fascination that the most advanced technique has for the modern boy. He is fascinated by the machine: and the more subtle and delicate and efficient the machine, the more he loves it. With its social purposes, he just cannot be concerned.

He might be concerned about them if he felt it would get him anywhere. But he knows, sometimes by experience and sometimes by instinct, that it will get him nowhere: except to the Labour Exchange and the dole. And he doesn't want the dole. He wants to do something real. He wants to acquire an expert skill. It's no use talking to him about the infamy of destruction in the abstract. You have to be able to show him an alternative—an occupation, a mode of life in which his native and natural zest for doing things will not rot.

Here (I feel) is the root of the matter; and I cannot help thinking that somewhere in itself Pacifism, if it is to be an enduring creed, must contain the indication of a positive way of life. Nor do I mean by "way of life" anything ethereal or mystical: but something as concrete, as satisfying, and as adventurous as anything the R.A.F. can offer to modern youth: in fact, an alternative career, were it not that the word "career" now reeks of all that is abominable in a civilization which worships success. And at the back of my mind is lurking a doubt whether Pacifism can be, as it were, tacked on to the pursuits of a machine-civilization.

I may perhaps put it this way, in an image. Let us regard a modern nation as one man. The vast development of the machine is equivalent to a monstrous physical development of his muscular power. His limbs are grotesque and gigantic; but his head and his brain have not developed. So that his mental control of his muscular power is rudimentary. Nor are those vast limbs of Man-in-Society really sensitive.

Somehow these vast titan limbs have to become sensitive. We may say that what is required is a new development of imagination: That this is required most urgently is out of doubt. That would correspond to the adequate development of the brain in our giant Man. But if we try to make our image real, and picture to ourselves the development of imagination as it actually occurs in society, namely in the awakened imagination of individuals, it is clear that the awakening of imagination may be as good as fatal to the person in whom it happens. If our young R.A.F. mechanic begins to indulge his imagination, he will find himself on the scrap-heap of unwanted labour. And it is no use persuading ourselves that, if only he were resolute enough, he could "get into something else." The something else he would get into, if he got into anything at all, would be making armaments in some shape or form. Once the imagination has been set working it becomes a mere self-deception to suppose that making armaments is more pacific, or more human, than learning how to drop bombs accurately from a bombing-plane.

There seems to be no stopping anywhere: for it does not require any vast extension of imagination, once it has begun sprouting, to discover that most activities in a highly developed machine-society are interdependent, or that the real reason why rearmament makes industry boom is that it sets the productive capacity of the nation at work on making the only kind of commodities that can be distributed free of charge in our society, without a revolutionary shock to the morals and the economics of this great country.

But stop somewhere we must, at any rate for this week. And I prefer to leave my problem in its simplest form. What real alternative are we going to offer our schoolboy recruit to the R.A.F.? And by a real alternative I do not mean a barren commercial alternative—even if one were to be found; I do not mean some futile effort in salesmanship on commission that might possibly bring him in the same number of shillings a week: but an occupation as independent, as carefree, and as manly (by his simple standards) as the one we are calling upon him to abandon.

Radio

BLOOD SPORTS AND WAR

AN interesting broadcast debate was that on "Should Blood Sports be Prohibited?"

Miss Rose Macaulay and Captain Douglas English, who both spoke in the affirmative, were refreshingly free from that sentimentality which so often afflicts humanitarians, to the detriment of their cause.

"Not one of our national blood sports," said Captain English, "can be pursued to its appointed end without the infliction of pain, which may be, and often is, unduly prolonged and of a hideous and revolting kind."

"In not one of the national blood sports can this infliction of pain be justified on social, economic, philosophic, or scientific grounds."

Cases of Pacifism in History

A SENTENCE of death was executed upon Maximilianus, an African youth, who had been produced by his own father before the magistrate as a sufficient and legal recruit, but who obstinately persisted in declaring that his conscience would not permit him to embrace the profession of a soldier.

It could scarcely be expected that any government should suffer the action of Marcellus the centurion to pass with impunity.

On the day of a public festival, that officer threw away his belt, his arms and the ensigns of his office, and exclaimed in a loud voice that he would obey none but Jesus Christ the eternal King, and that he renounced forever the use of carnal weapons, and the service of an idolatrous master.

The soldiers, as soon as they recovered from their astonishment, secured the person of Marcellus. He was examined in the city of Tingi by the president of that part of Mauritania and as he was convicted by his own confession, he was condemned and beheaded for the crime of desertion.—From Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

NATURAL COMPETITION

One argument that used to be advanced by hunting apologists in all seriousness, was that only by the practice of field sports could the stamina of army horses be maintained, and where would the cavalry get its officers from if hunting were abolished? Now that the army is largely mechanized this plea of national necessity has been dropped.

The radio defenders of these barbarities did not sink to this level of fatuity. Not quite.

Mr. Douglas Gordon claimed that hunting was a form of natural competition. Animals, if consulted, would prefer to live at the risk of being killed than not to live at all.

Mr. S. P. B. Mais waxed lyrical about the thrill and beauty of fox-hunting, the only blood sport he would defend. Hunting provided the opportunity to see an England which otherwise he would never see at all.

A LINK

The old argument about cavalry horses and officers is not the only link between blood sports and militarism. There is a vital connexion between the two, as Mr. Henry S. Salt indicates in *The Creed of Kinship*. He writes:—

"The temper which makes war still possible is kept alive and fostered, among other practices, by that of doing to death thousands of helpless animals for purposes of mere recreation. Peace advocates who declaim against the horrors of war, without taking note of the kindred horrors of 'sport' have not looked very deeply into the subject of their propaganda. . . . Blood-sport is a form of war."

Surtees, who was neither a pacifist nor an animal "crank," wrote: "Hunting is the image of war without its guilt."

Pacifists who may not yet be convinced that the prohibition of blood sports is their business should write to the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports, 7 Victoria Street, S.W.1, for free literature and a copy of the magazine *Cruel Sports*.

American military authorities estimate that there are 55,000,000 trained soldiers in the world, of which 474,378 are in the United States.

RECONCILIATION

A monthly review published by
The Fellowship of Reconciliation

The purpose of "Reconciliation" is to review affairs from the Christian Pacifist point of view, to develop a constructive peace policy expressive of Christian principle and to keep peace workers in churches, colleges and the various Christian Pacifist Fellowships in touch with each other.

A specimen copy will be sent to you free of charge on application to the Editor, "Reconciliation," 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1

Recent Publications

MODERN WAR MEANS FASCISM

TOWARDS ARMAGEDDON.
Major-General J. F. C. Fuller.
Lovat Dixon. 6s.

Reviewed by Thomas Southall

The realities of "defence" are appreciated by two sets of opinion. On the one hand there is the belief that an appeal to violence is ultimately inevitable, and can best be postponed and eventually met by national organization designed in accordance with the totalitarian nature of modern war.

On the other, the pacifist regards recourse to violence as the surrender of civilization to barbarism.

General Fuller is a supporter of the first opinion. In this book he sketches in detailed outline the necessary organization to create and defend the "ideals" of national honour, pride of race and the national leadership of the world.

He postulates modern war as a conflict of nation against nation, the

military target being the national will. Unorganized, the civil will is vulnerable; disciplined as part of one vast self-sufficient machine, it can be stiffened to withstand assault.

Consequently, every human activity must be coordinated in the work of "defence," every man and woman allotted to, and trained for, their specific task in war; the modern war, which is "but an acceleration of peace activities in their totality, and not in their part."

Granted his premise, General Fuller is right. The pacifist denies the premise and believes, with another great soldier, "In the long run, the sword will always be conquered by the spirit."

By his references to "pacifists" General Fuller displays but little knowledge of pacifism. Perhaps he will come up and see us some time. He and we may find that we have more in common than appears on the surface.

DON'T BE DISHEARTENED!

THE number of libraries which are now displaying PEACE NEWS in their reading rooms is amazing, but nevertheless there are some groups who are experiencing difficulty with their local library committee.

The reason for its rejection in the case of Bradford was stated to be that the paper had not a sufficiently large appeal. If you are having the same difficulty we suggest you quote the fact that the paper is now in 156 libraries including all those in Birmingham.

If that does not satisfy them it would be well to hunt out any purely propagandist papers which they already allow to be shown and ask how the question of peace can

have a more restricted appeal than these.

Even though you may not be successful in getting PEACE NEWS displayed at least, as in the case of Bradford, it is possible to obtain a great deal of good publicity.

Since we last published a list, on June 5, PEACE NEWS is being displayed in libraries at:—

EAST HAM (4)
GREENFORD
HAMPTON (Middlesex)
HOYLAND (Barnsley)
LEEDS (Church Institute,
Albion Place)
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-
LYME

PLAISTOW (4)
STOKE-ON-TRENT

bringing the total up to 156.

REVIEWS IN BRIEF

MASS-OBSERVATION. C. Madge and T. Harrison. Frederick Muller. 1s.

THIS little book carries a foreword by Julian Huxley, and is the first of a series introducing an organization for the collection and coordination of data on human social behaviour, and inviting its readers to participate as "mass-observers."

While the material so collected may be of doubtful value due to the extreme fluidity of human thought, the practice of critical observation cannot fail to produce a development in the minds of the observers, replacing shibboleths by solid reasoning, and thus removing many of the dogmatic and doctrinal stumbling blocks which stand in the way of human progress.

F.S.

PATHS OF GLORY. A NEW WAY WITH WAR. Kenneth Boulding. Friends' Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. 6d.

The Northern Friends' Peace Board has issued this booklet to provide a positive angle to the growing desire for peace, and to expose the fallacy

of relying on schemes which merely aim at preventing or limiting war by various kinds of international agreement.

The author believes he has worked out a substitute for war, a method of defence entirely different. He describes it as "a method of fighting by working directly on the mind of the enemy, particularly by persistent acts of friendship, generosity, and unflinching proclamation of the truth in the face of undeserved suffering, publicly endured without arousing in the sufferer bitterness or resentment toward his opponent."

The method is illustrated psychologically and by historical examples, and applied in practical detail to some of the actual international problems of the moment.

QUAKERS AND WAR. Robert Davis. Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

An attempt is made in this leaflet to "set forth briefly the historic testimony of Friends against war and to view its implications in the context of current events."

WAR FILM: ABSURD BUT INSIDIOUS DRAMA NOTES

By JOHN ATHEY

THE United States Federal Theatre, Works Progress Administration, are desirous of securing copies and particulars of all the peace plays they can, with the idea of making a gigantic push next autumn with peace propaganda plays and encouraging and assisting all their units to include some in their repertoires.

They have hundreds of units in all parts of the States, and their scale of royalties is very generous. They al-

NOT SO TRAGIC!

I WONDER if the following sinister little anecdote would depress your readers suitably?

I recently paid a visit to Henry V and outside the Old Vic I was accosted by an elderly gentleman.

"Is it a murder?" he inquired tremulously, clutching at my sleeve, "I don't like it when there's a murder."

I replied that it was not a murder, but that the play dealt with the Battle of Agincourt, in which rather more than ten thousand people were slaughtered.

"Oh, that's all right then," he said in tones of relief. "So long as it isn't tragic."

ROY WALKER.

ready have an extensive knowledge of published plays, but wish to secure originals as well.

AN OPPORTUNITY

The Federal Theatre is State supported and this should be an excellent opportunity for getting peace propaganda drama more widely known.

It any of our readers can help, particulars should be sent to Mrs. Allen McMahon, of 25 Cortwaite Gardens, Enfield, before June 17 or, after that date, to Mr. Frank Bosworth, National Director, Play Bureau, Federal Theatre, Chanin Building, 42nd St. and Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Mrs. Allen McMahon, who is in this country specifically for this work, intended to be present at the 3rd Annual Conference of the International Pax Players Association, which was held last week-end, and which I shall be reporting in next week's issue of PEACE NEWS.

Introducing the

INTER-SCHOOLS PEACE FEDERATION

THE Inter-Schools Peace Federation, which is anxious to form branches in schools all over the country, abjures war as an instrument of policy, and is determined to oppose the introduction of conscription.

These and other points were passed at a conference held last January. Once a year a central council consisting of one representative from each school calls a conference.

Membership is also open to individuals. Any school peace society or individual scholar wishing to hear more about this federation should write to the secretary, C. Brian Phillips, Bootham School, York.

THE film *O.H.M.S.* is a perfect example of military-minded propaganda and should be seen by every peace worker who wishes to assess the strength of opposition to the peace mind, and to test his own invulnerability to graphic propaganda.

Starting from the premise that war against "ignorant natives" is right and inevitable, it makes an unanswerable case for preparedness in training and modern equipment, and it uses the most subtle appeals to valour, chivalry, and the longing for adventure.

It presents "the enemy" as a beastly undisciplined mob of Chinese with a sprinkling of suspiciously Russian uniforms, without the remotest suggestion that their lives may be of any value or that the cause of their disaffection may be a genuine grievance which might be met otherwise than by force.

Machine guns and tanks heavily weigh the odds in "our" favour, but the bombing aeroplane, accepted by North-West Frontier tactics as the most merciful weapon against ignorant hostile mobs, does not appear!

I have heard of pacifists who have seen the film and laughed at it as an absurdity, but we would do well to realize the insidious effect of such a picture upon the mind of the average picturegoer whose unconscious reaction to violence is fear and the desire for protection. These are the people who say that British rearmament is helping to steady the European situation, and they are at present in a majority or our rearmament programme could not go on.

The peace movement will have to direct some of its efforts toward changing the mind of those in power over the cinema and the press, but in the meantime I suggest that local peace groups should take this type of film seriously and, having seen it, should start local press correspondence and protests through which the unthinking may be educated. Since we have not a similar command of film propaganda, let us use these opportunities instead of letting them go by default.

FRIEDA BACON.

WE DIDN'T SAY IT

War is the stupidest of human institutions. It rights no wrongs—it punishes the innocent and exalts the guilty.—Mr. Lloyd George in 1900.

The twenty post-war years have shown that war does not settle the account. There is a balance brought forward. When emancipation is achieved a new slavery may begin. The moment of victory may be the beginning of defeat. The days which saw the framing of the League of Nations saw the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Should both be entered on the credit side?—Mr. Baldwin, May 18.

But when men reflect on the sights they have seen during this month and the very fine parades and appearance of the Army, I think we shall, in the long run, reap the benefit of these days. . . We shall improve recruiting to something like the extent we have improved recruiting in the Territorial Army.—Mr. Duff Cooper.

PEACEMAKING IN PALESTINE

2. Among the Jews

WE spent part of our time in Palestine among the Arabs and part among the Jews and both communities entirely understood and respected our desire to hear the other side.

While we were in Jerusalem we had the happiness of meeting Dr. Magnes, the head of the Hebrew University. He is an American Jew, a pacifist, and a man of great vision. Professor Norman Bentwich, the distinguished lawyer and writer, also spared us some of his time.

These men are known to be liberal-minded and are not extremists. Both impressed upon us the importance of realizing that the Jews are in Palestine under an international guarantee and feel they are there "as of right and not on sufferance."

They also helped us to understand something of the Jews' historic link with the Holy Land and their continuous longing for it through the

What War Means

BECAUSE Franco has drained 50,000 Moors out of Morocco, agriculture, reports a Tangiers newspaper, has been suffering from a lack of labour. The whole economy of the country has been seriously affected.

centuries. These things are most real and they are unique; they cannot be measured by the history of other races.

It is nearly 2,000 years since the Jews were driven out of Palestine but spiritually they have never left it. They have remained a nation but they have never made a national home in any other land.

PIONEER WORK

Later we went to Tel Aviv built amazingly on the sand dunes to the north of Jaffa. Here we met many Jewish people who helped us to understand a little better what a Jewish national home in Palestine means to their race.

They, an agricultural people, have not been allowed to own land. Circumstances have made it almost impossible for them to work with their hands or to be good employers and they have been forced into finance and money lending. They do not grumble about these things, but in Palestine have set to work to redress the balance.

A short tour among the Jewish colonies in the country was arranged for us and there we saw the people working on the land. They are themselves draining swamps, clearing away sand, applying modern methods of agriculture, planting trees, literally making the desert blossom like a rose, and building up the waste places of Zion.

They are doing all this with a devotion and joy that gives one a fresh sense of the goodness

of life. They are for the most part people who have been cruelly treated in other countries.

Their race has a long history of persecution, they themselves are leading the hard lives of pioneers and are frequently in danger, but for them the world has renewed its youth and they seem completely free from that state of frustration and defeatism with which many of us are familiar. They believe that they are fulfilling their own destiny and that they will have something to give to the world.

COMMUNAL LIFE

Cooperation is the key note of all the colonies and in them various forms of communal life are being tried.

No individual owns money, but the resources of the community are pooled and the needs of each are the care of all. Each contributes the labour for which he or she is most fitted and helps with the duller routine jobs, such as washing up.

There is absolute equality between men and women. The children are cared for in a special house. Pioneers are prepared to accept hard conditions for themselves in their early days, but they always want to give the best they can to their children.

While the adults are still living in tents or huts, one good house is always built for the children of the colony and there they are given expert care while their parents work for long hours on the land. The best house in a colony and the one to which the visitor is first taken, with pride and joy, is the children's house.

I do not think that any parents can love their children more or any communities can care for them better.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

One can understand, however, how strange these new ways of living must seem to people accustomed, as the Arabs are, to a feudal system and to patriarchal ways of family life. An ultra modern civilization has suddenly been placed beside a very ancient one and clashes and misunderstandings are not surprising.

Whatever political settlement is found, there will be Jews and Arabs living side by side in Palestine and their problems will have to be solved. Many Jews believe that they can live happily with their Arab neighbours and be of service to them.

Here a great responsibility rests with British people. We shall not help by standing aside or by becoming partisans, but we might help by taking a great deal of trouble to understand the points of view of both people, by working with them, and helping them to understand each other.

We are responsible for the situation in Palestine. Let us admit that we are not blameless and then let us try to make something glorious out of the association of Jews, Christians, and Moslems in the Holy Land.

JOYCE POLLARD.

Munition Work

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

I WAS very interested in the editorial of June 5, "Cease to do Evil," which pointed out that a man may be "a helpless wisher for peace in his spare time and an efficient maker of the actual means of war in all his working hours."

Surely it is not just to place on one section of the community (and that a comparatively poor one, many of whom have had long spells of unemployment) the onus of all the practical opposition to the rearmament programme?

The munition worker is merely our paid representative doing work which is meant for the benefit of the whole community and for which the community's money is used. **If he ought to refuse his work, ought not those who help to pay for it to refuse their appropriate portion of income tax?**

I cannot see any honest way of avoiding this conclusion. It does not seem to me to be at all weakened by the fact that in other indirect ways we may all be helping on the war-machine.

M. J. DAVIDSON.

13 Glenwood Grove,
Kingsbury, N.W.9

Howard Smith's letter on munition work in PEACE NEWS of May 29 touches the root of the pacifist position. The longer I live the more do I see this question of individual responsibility to be of paramount importance.

Those over whose heads the fear of want hangs cannot be blamed as much as the investors who scramble for gain out of any unholy thing, but all the same—"Government ain't to answer for it."

Let pacifists who suspect part of their work is for war purposes go to the boss and tell him they cannot undertake such work, as those of us who were in prison twenty years ago went to the Governor and told him we could do no war work—whatever the consequences.

Contrary to Howard Smith's view that it is questionable whether the time is ripe for a definite stand to be adopted, I will say that the time is over-ripe. Pacifists must come clean.

JAMES HENDERSON.

Doncaster.

FOOD FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN

The same problem which Norma Jacob outlines in PEACE NEWS for May 22 in Catalonia exists in the Eastern provinces of Spain, with this difference—that the Republican Government controls adequate capital to finance the maintenance of these refugee children, but lacks the means to import many of the supplies considered indispensable to their healthy development: for instance, sugar; dried fruit and vegetables; preserved meat, fish, and milk; jam; chocolate; soap.

My suggestion is that a fund should be formed to purchase and transport some or all of these supplies by sea to the Eastern littoral of Spain for distribution to refugee children generally (and to no-one else).

I have discussed the scheme with an inspector of their colonies, who agrees with me that there is little doubt the Government would gladly refund the cost of these supplies; but this would, of course, have to be officially confirmed.

PACIFISM IN ALL PARTIES

IS not one of the most important attractions of the Peace Pledge Union the fact that it is non-party and non-sectarian?

I am at a loss to understand why Mr. Russell Bentley and others so labour the point that the P.P.U. should officially ally itself either to a new pacifist political party or to an already existing political party.

By joining the I.L.P., we shall only antagonise the capitalist parties still further than we are already doing, and this is the last thing we want to do. **Our job is so to permeate capitalism with pacifism that the former will collapse of its own accord.**

It is for that reason that many groups of the P.P.U. are arranging debates with members of the Junior Imperial League, and are consequently making these latter think, perhaps for the first time in their lives, that there are other points of view in the country worth considering.

The Peace Pledge Union as a body must retain its non-party basis if it is to succeed in achieving its object.

ERIC S. TUCKER.

43 Kyrle Road,
London, S.W.11.

I do wish that so many people in the P.P.U. would not take it for granted that to be a pacifist it is essential for all people to belong to their particular religious or political party.

While it is possible for a man to be a Buddhist or a Socialist and yet be perfectly fair to and live at peace with all his fellow men with different labels, surely the true pacifist is one who thinks very little of such distinctions.

E. SYMES BOND.

Thrapston.

NO COMPROMISE

Perhaps my point of view would be of interest to "J.J." of Bournemouth, who asks whether we are justified in taking pacifism to its extreme, and "accepting other Christian principles in a very immature state."

The best of remedies for such evils as unemployment, bad housing conditions, and malnutrition must unfortunately be slow in taking effect, but present international relations make it necessary for us to use the quickest of remedies for war, and that is why we must carry our renunciation of war to its limit—"never to support or sanction another."

CONSTANCE M. JONES.

39 Cranbrook Road,
Handsworth,
Birmingham, 21.

The money so refunded could immediately be expended in the purchase of further supplies, and thus the subscriber's first contribution could be his last, there being no necessity for a continuous income.

If this suggestion proves feasible on examination and is adopted, I am willing to prolong my stay in Spain in order to approach the Government and arrange details.

REGINALD CONLAN.

Costa Levantina.

AFTER BIRMINGHAM

I WONDER whether I, as Chairman of the Christian Pacifist Party, may be permitted to comment in your columns on what happened at Birmingham last Saturday.

I left the Convention feeling that the pacifist movement is politically in a condition of sad confusion.

There were speakers—at a political Convention—who argued that we should not touch politics; speakers who thought that we should enter politics but only as directed by the Parliamentary Group (a touch of totalitarianism there!); speakers who held that we should cling to the Labour Party, hoping that in October Mr. Bevin and Mr. Morrison will accept pacifism and carry the party with them.

The final speech was an appeal to fear: and the fear on which the speaker played was the fear of splitting **not the pacifist movement** but the Labour Party. It is a fear with which, up to a point, I sympathize.

Many of us have been associated with the Labour Movement for several years and would prefer to work through it. It is not of our own will that we are in the wilderness.

But there are certain questions that we in the pacifist movement must face. Are we prepared to argue that pacifism is without political content, and consequently that pacifists **should not vote?**

We cannot split ourselves in two. We cannot be pacifists at pacifist conventions and non-pacifists in the ballot box, without inflicting injury on our own souls and laying ourselves open to the charge of not meaning what we say.

Do we propose to work politically through the Labour Party? If we do we should take steps to find out, without delay, whether the party is prepared to accept pacifists, **and pacifist candidates.**

Apparently the majority of those attending the Birmingham Convention believe that we should aim at converting the country to the doctrine of unilateral disarmament, **leaving our converts to work and vote at elections for those who are resolutely opposed to it.** That is an ambiguous policy that cannot but confuse the minds of unsophisticated people.

It is already having that effect. Thousands of pacifists voted for collective "security" at the last election, under the impression that they were furthering our cause.

They will discover that they were mistaken. The result, if we refuse to organize for political action, will be first bewilderment, then a feeling of frustration, then the disintegration of our movement. We shall have missed our chance.

In precisely that way the post-War pacifist movement was allowed to run to waste. One fears a repetition of the process.

There are only two courses open to us. The first is that of the quietist, who concentrates on individuals and entirely eschews politics. If that is our position, let us say so.

In that event we shall not hold political conventions nor take any part in political life. For many, however, that position is impossible. We hold that political activity is an essential characteristic of a civilized community, and we cannot stand aloof from it.

But we are not content to work through any of the channels now open to us. There is need of a new political instrument, inspired by moral conviction, with pacifism as its method and socialism as its objective.

We believe, moreover, that there are multitudes who are waiting for it.

We in Coventry could wish that the lead came from elsewhere. There are men among your own contributors

POLICY OF LABOUR PARTY

THE reasons advanced by your correspondents and by pacifist publicists against seeking to secure direct parliamentary representation for pacifism seem to me to be very weak.

Our corporate demand, come what may, is for disarmament **by example.** To implement this demand we must get our representatives at Westminster; no other course is open to us.

Charles A. Earl fears that pacifist candidates would take from the Labour vote. It is to be hoped they would!

Mr. Earl and those in whose minds a like conflict exists must rearrange their ideas in correct order of precedence; pacifism must come first, socialism or conservatism second, even to the point of relegation to oblivion if need be.

The pacifist party would have a claim prior to all other party loyalties, and, in contesting an election, would therefore naturally oppose all other parties equally because all other parties believe in the sanction of the gun and the gas-bomb.

Russell Bentley is against the idea because, as he says, "government includes so many other spheres of the national life besides foreign policy." This is no reason at all.

Wherein in internal affairs would a pacifist administration be more likely to fail than the present force-embosomed administration? Following upon unilateral disarmament, all things will fall into true and natural position.

Contesting a general election we should have a well-nigh perfect approach to the people. No means test; benefits doubled (easily); Income Tax reduced to 2s. 6d. in the £; surtax reduced; old age pensions at 50; 100,000 free tennis courts; 1,000 national theatres; tea and other commodities free of duty; five-hour day; decrease in prices, increase in wages; circulation of PEACE NEWS up by leaps and bounds; 47,000,000 people leading the world in idea.

Such would be our address to the electorate.

G. H. MURPHY.

29 Sunny Gardens,
London, N.W.4.

Your correspondent Charles A. Earl deplores the possibility of Labour candidates being compelled to oppose pacifists.

So do I, but can the Labour Party be called pacifist when it does not hesitate to support the Government in their arms race? I, too, feel that the establishment of social justice, that is, socialism, will take us on the road toward world peace, but I am very much concerned with the present attitude of the official Labour Party.

We should also think of the large number of readers who can never be persuaded to take an active part in politics. Is it because they are dissatisfied with the present parties?

FRED W. FLEAR.

Welwyn Garden City.

who are admirably qualified to offer it.

But if others will not act, then, anxious though we are not to cause unnecessary division, we have no option but to go on.

H. INGLI JAMES.

11 Morningside,
Coventry.

HERE'S YOUR REPLY TO HITLER

ALTHOUGH a resolution to the effect that the "general political and economic situation is not at present such as to ensure the success of a resumption of the work on all the questions of the original programme" was passed recently by the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference, it decided that the draft conventions for national defence expenditure and for a permanent disarmament commission which might present suitable subjects for agreement were to be sent to the countries represented at the conference.

Speaking at a rally of 150,000 Nazis at Regensburg last week, Herr Hitler said that Germany had been asked why she did not disarm.

In the past the other nations could have had the blessing of disarmament when Germany was disarmed, but they ignored it, and recognized this blessing only when Germany was rearmed.

In a statement issued recently the National Peace Council declared that public opinion earnestly desired the Government to act in this matter and to use its influence to ensure a resumption of the committees at work on these questions.

THE BY-ELECTIONS AND PEACE

"Are you prepared to oppose the Government's rearmament plans?" is the most forthright of a number of questions the Women's International League have prepared for presentation to candidates at by-elections.

Other questions are:—

1. Will you press the Government to maintain the promises of the Kellogg Pact (which was signed by 61 nations) to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and never to seek the settlement of a dispute except by pacific means?

2. Will you press the Government to take the profits out of the armament trade?

3. Will you press the Government: (a) to seek cooperation with other nations and with the Dominions for the lowering of trade barriers, (b) to restore equal opportunities for trade and commerce in all Crown Colonies and Protectorates?

4. Will you urge the Government as a contribution toward world peace and justice to press for the development of the mandates system and its application to all colonial territories?

WAR—FOR FUN!

Have you read

CRUEL SPORTS

the official organ of
the League for the
Prohibition of Cruel
Sports?

Send 2½d. stamp for copy to
7 VICTORIA STREET
S.W.1

Reginald Sorensen INTRODUCES YOU TO Parliament

PEACE, it has been said, is indivisible. And I would add peace and politics are indivisible, for there is no aspect of political life that is unrelated to or that is unaffected by international conditions, whether it be the question of unemployment benefit, the condition of the textile industry, the building of houses and slum clearance, or the development of education.

Inevitably, therefore, in gathering together a few parliamentary notes of interest to readers of PEACE NEWS one is confronted with the problem of appropriate selection.

If there appear in this column from time to time matters that appear to have no direct bearing on peace, I would urge the reader who may think thus to think again and second thoughts may reveal a significance previously hidden through too narrow a perception of the encompassing issues in which he is concerned.

AND now, having recorded those warning platitudes let me say a word concerning both the Foreign Secretary and also the Parliamentary procedure by which more specific international, foreign, and peace subjects are dealt with at Westminster.

Each week the Foreign Secretary, or a deputy, answers a certain number of previously written questions and possibly an urgent question accepted by "private notice." Apart from this, certain days now and then are selected by the Government or granted to the opposition for full-dress Foreign Office debates.

Questions are limited to three each day though "supplementaries" are allowed, subject to the Speaker's ruling. Statements and arguments are permissible only during a debate and in one such debate approximately three Labour, two Liberal, six Conservative, and one other back-bench M.P. will be able to "catch the Speaker's eye."

Perhaps this brief description will help the reader to visualize the stage and the setting within which the acts of a perpetual drama are played.

VISUALIZE, then, Mr. Anthony Eden, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, rising to answer questions or deliver a speech. As if in some enlarged chancel the members sit facing each other, a table in the centre and the judicial figure of the Speaker seated on a canopied, raised chair at the end.

Mr. Eden, youthful looking and smartly dressed sways slightly backward and forward before the famous box. His tones are earnest, his voice pleasant though a little hoarse, his hand lightly fingers his notes or occasionally gives emphasis with a qualified bang.

Cautiously, tactfully, carefully, he chooses his words and says as much or as little as is needful or desirable, fencing with or smothering an interjection according to circumstance. And in and through him are flowing deep streams of knowledge, reflection, adjustment, and judgment and all the

Quaker Delegates To Meet Spanish President?

TELLING of his experiences during a visit to Spain, J. Cuthbert Wigham, chairman of the Friends' Service Council, speaking at a garden party at Golders Green on Saturday arranged by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (London Union), recalled an interview he had with Senor Azana, President of Spain.

An encouraging feature of this interview, he said, was a statement by the President to the effect that he would be pleased to receive, for a conference on the Spanish war, a deputation of members of the Society of Friends from Germany, France, Britain, and other countries.

Asked whether he would receive and discuss suggestions for the stopping of the war, Senor Azana said that it was for his Government to decide that question.

To people coming to an F.O.R. garden party for the first time it may have appeared incongruous to hear the uproarious laughter which greeted two very humorous sketches by the Langley Players especially after the discussion of such a serious subject as the Spanish war. But to those who are accustomed to attending it is just indicative of the true spirit of these functions.

Other features were singing by the Gwalia Male Glee Singers, and an exhibition of photos of the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace.

Help "Crucified" Spain

A reminder that British airmen might some day be called upon to emulate the horrors of Guernica and Durango was voiced by Mr. C. Cuthbert Wigham (Chairman, Friends' Service Council) at a meeting held at Newark in connexion with the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief.

Asserting that the bombing and shelling of those two cities differed only in degree from what was happening in Madrid, Mr. Wigham, who has lately returned from Spain, added: "And we are today in this country training some of the very finest young men in the world to go out and do that same action over towns somewhere else."

The meeting had the support of Nonconformist and Church of England ministers and local peace organizations.

The Rev. F. R. Pinfold Sumner said that Spain was being crucified, and was asking England for help—not by going out as other nationalities had done, to cause further destruction, strife, and hatred, but by going out to bring peace and a sense of fellowship and love.

Several groups attached to local churches intend "adopting" some of the Spanish refugee children.

vast flood of affairs that affect the life—or death—of millions.

CITIZENS of Peace, I have introduced you to Parliament and for a while at least I shall send you weekly notes concerning the political world of today and tomorrow.

NEWSNOTES—

(Concluded from page 7)

themselves to raise the money to keep such a camp as the Southampton one going for children from the distressed areas I shall be delighted to contribute. I do not think that they will trouble to do so. It is easier to put one's tongue in one's cheek than one's hand in one's pocket.

I myself broadcast last year for a fund which cares for assaulted children. The result was £417 19s. 5d. An appeal for an animal's hospital in the previous week had produced the sum of £11,812 0s. 9d.

EVEN those who have long grown used to Soviet executions to the point of overlooking the appalling human effects of what they have come to regard as a mere political phenomenon have been shocked by the shooting last weekend of eight Russian generals.

But not because of the inhumanity of it. Rather because of the impression that it is a sign of Russia's decadence. That may make the controllers of Russia's destiny think twice before continuing a policy of massacre that is dangerous even to her most selfish interests.

If Russia still has an ideal embodied in her socialism which she would give to the world the interests of that, too, demand the cessation of barbarism. Those who do not believe that Russia can do no wrong are not likely to believe that socialism contains an ideal worth attempting if its maintenance depends on such brutality.

But those who in increasing numbers have rejected the war method entirely yet believe in a socialistic ideal will find confirmation of their faith in pacifism as the only way to attain it.

THE view that the prospects of a settlement of the Indian deadlock are more hopeful indicates that "official circles" are still missing the real issue. For they are talking of "a solution within the terms of the Act."

This interpretation of the situation is confirmed by Lord Zetland's sincere claim that the provincial governors were anxious to play the part of friends and not, as they were regarded by Congress, of watchdogs.

But it cannot be too often repeated that a desire for peace has nothing whatever to do with it. The Indians desire peace too. But they naturally want to see more sign that their past experiences of repression, culminating in the very Act within whose terms a solution is now sought, are not to be repeated.

Any "solution" not based on a practical demonstration of British good will can only be a temporary truce.

LATE NEWS

Official text, published Wednesday, of non-intervention agreement (see p. 7, col. 1) as submitted to Spanish parties omits words "taken on the spot" Thus, "immediate measures of self-defence considered necessary by . . . Power actually attacked" might mean any horror. That is realism of war.

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Peace News

June 19, 1937

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June 27—Canon **STUART MORRIS**

July 4—The Reverend **GILBERT SHAW**

„ 11—Father **ANDREW, S.D.C.**

„ 18—Canon **H. R. L. (Dick) SHEPPARD**
Preacher at Evensong on July 25, the Patronal Festival

The Ven. **ARCHDEACON DONALDSON**
of Westminster Abbey

MEETINGS

“SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM”
“LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY”
“ACTA NON VERBA”

Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Nottingham Hill Gate.

Rev. Will Hayes: June 20.—“Plays for Animal Lovers.”

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DIARY OF THE WEEK

June

19 (Sat.) 2.30 p.m. Meet at Meadow Head tram terminus, **SHEFFIELD**; 4-mile ramble to summer school, Apperknowle; P.P.U. 3 p.m. Yeovil Athletic Ground, Huish, **YEOVIL**; Dr. Alfred Salter, Gerald Bailey, Howard Whitehouse, R. L. Brett, and Gerald Heard (chairman) at peace rally; Wessex Pacifist Council.

3.30 p.m. “Hardene,” Lanchester Road, **HIGHGATE**; Maurice L. Rowntree at garden party; F.O.R. 3.30 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, **KENTON**; Dr. Har Dayal and Mrs. Harold Gray at North-West London area conference; F.O.R. (London Union).

4 and 6.15 p.m. Bramley Hall Farm, **APPERKNOWLE**; Nigel Spottiswoode at summer school; P.P.U.

7 p.m. **WOODFORD GREEN** (near Men's Club); Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Vera Brittain, and Mr. Thomas Southall at open-air meeting; P.P.U.

19 and 20 (Sat. and Sun.) National Youth Peace Days arranged by British Youth Peace Assembly.

20 (Sun.) 3.30 p.m. Castle Gardens, **NEWARK**; Canon A. Parkinson and Rev. F. Roberts at united open-air peace service: Newark Youth Peace Council.

7.30 p.m. **PERRY PARK**, Birmingham; open-air mass meeting on “Pacifists in Action”; P.P.U.

8 p.m. **Y.M.C.A., BRIDGEWATER**; Frank Hancock on “The Price of War”; Bridgewater Peace Group.

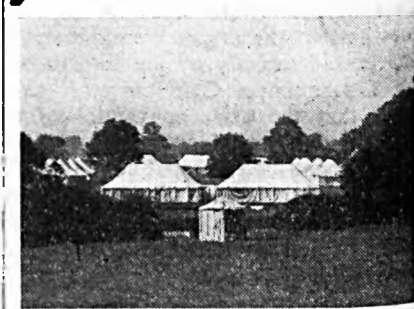
8.15 p.m. The Carrs, **WILMSLOW** (near Manchester); Canon Stuart Morris on “The Church and War” at open-air meeting; P.P.U.

20-27 (Sun.—Sun.) **RUGBY**: peace week arranged by local peace council.

21 (Mon.) 8 p.m. Queen's Hall, Langham Place, **LONDON, W.1**; Lord Lytton, P. J. Noel Baker, M.P., Hon. Walter Nash, and Dr. Gilbert Murray at public meeting; tickets 1s., 2s. 6d., 5s., and a limited number of free seats from League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

23 (Wed.) 8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY**, London, W.C.2; open-air meeting arranged by Methodist Peace Fellowship. 8 p.m. Lecture Hall, Baptist Church, **TEDDINGTON**; Mr. P.

Just To Remind You



TO WRITE AT ONCE TO

John Barclay, Peace Pledge Union,
96 Regent Street, London, W.1,
to tell him you are going to the

Swanwick Camp

W. Applegate on “Which Kingdom”; F.O.R. and P.P.U.

24 (Thurs.) 1.10-2 p.m. 13 Pater-noster Row, **LONDON, E.C.4**; John P. Fletcher on “C.O.'s Experiences in Wartime”; City P.P.U. group.

8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Eglinton Road, **WOOLWICH**; John Barclay at inaugural meeting of Woolwich group; P.P.U.

25 (Fri.) 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, **LEICESTER**; Rev. B. H. Metson on “Pacifism and a Christian”; Leicester Christian Pacifist Fellowship.

26 (Sat.) 3.30 p.m. “Upmeads,” The Drive, **RICKMANSWORTH**; Herbert E. Seed and Leonard C. Johnson at garden meeting; P.P.U.

27 (Sun.) 3.45 p.m. **PRESTBURY** (by the Bollin Bridge); open-air meeting; Cheshire Monthly Meeting Peace Committee.

A NEW APPROACH

More than a year ago the Rev. William C. Jackson, then President of Methodist Conference, in a message to all Methodist churches pointed out the need for “a way of holy love and unselfish service” for the establishment of an order of society which would enable the world to live in righteousness and peace.

Now the May Synod of the Chester and Warrington district of the Methodist Church has passed a motion calling for “new international approaches based on economic and territorial needs, on friendships, and sacrificial service.”

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